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THE IMPORTANCE OF PANDORA

IN HESIOD'S THEOGONY

AND WORKS AND DAYS

by

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CHAPTER 1

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PANDORA MYTH IN THE THEOGONY AND THE WORKS AND DAYS

In the middle of Hesiod's account of the genealogy of the gods, he digresses momentarily and relates to his listeners a short fablelike story. This is not particularly unusual, as he does this often in both of his principal works, the Theogony and the Works and Days. The narrative of the Theogony is briefly interrupted by lines 507-616. This is a significant digression and is paralleled quite closely in the Works and Days.

The fable begins with the marriage of the Titan Iapetus to Clymene, the daughter of Ocean. This union produces "stout-hearted Atlas" (Th. 509),¹ "very glorious Menoetius" (Th. 510), "clever Prometheus, full of various wiles" (Th. 510-1), and the "scatter-brained Epimetheus" (Th. 511). These four luckless sons are all assigned their own special tragic destiny by Zeus. Epimetheus brought mankind bad luck by accepting the molded woman sent to him by Zeus. Because Menoetius was insolent and bold, he was sent down to the lower darkness. Zeus burdened Atlas by condemning him to hold the earth and sky on his shoulders. And finally cunning Prometheus was chained, and a stake driven through his middle. Every day an eagle pecked at his liver and every night the liver grew

back. Herakles, however, the son of Zeus, is eventually allowed to kill the eagle and release Prometheus, but only in order to glorify himself.

Hesiod continues the digression by explaining that the purpose of this severe punishment was to chastise Prometheus for having quarreled with the all-powerful Zeus. For when the gods and men assembled at Mecone to decide upon the appropriate sacrifice for the gods, Prometheus served the men the meat of an ox wrapped in its stomach, while he served Zeus the bare bones covered with a layer of fat. Zeus did not fail to notice that according to appearance he had received the better portion. He mentions this to Prometheus, who bids him select the portion which he preferred. Zeus, on the other hand, "saw and failed not to perceive the trick" (Th. 550-1) and chose the white fat. When he discovered the bones on the inside, he became furious. Hesiod explains that because Zeus chose the bones, the race of man on earth burns the white bones of animals as their offering to the gods.

Zeus remained very angry, however, and never forgot this deception. Consequently, he punished man by depriving him of the power of fire. But Prometheus restole fire in a hollow stalk, returning it to man. Zeus became incensed when he viewed mankind enjoying the light of fire and cursed these men with a devastating plague. He instructed the lame smith-god to mold the image of a young girl out of clay. After this shaping had been completed, Athena dressed her in silvery clothes and placed on her head a golden diadem,

which had been fashioned by the smith-god. Zeus had decided that with the blessing of fire man would receive the punishment of possessing womankind and displayed his creation to an assembly of gods and men. Both were shocked at the deadliness and irresistibility of this trick.

Hesiod then follows with a short discourse on women. He calls them damnable and lazy like the mischievous drones that live off of industrious bees. Unfortunately, man cannot live successfully with or without woman; whether he marries or not he is eternally cursed by this deadly sex. If he does not marry, he becomes lonely and his relatives divide up his estate. Similarly, if he does marry, either his wife or his children will cause him grief.

The fable is concluded with a moral. Hesiod adds, "So it is not possible to deceive or go beyond the will of Zeus; for not even the son of Iapetus, kindly Prometheus, escaped his heavy anger, but of necessity strong bands confined him, although he knew many a wile" (Th. 613-6).

A different, yet basically similar tale is revealed in lines 42-105 of the Works and Days. Hesiod begins by explaining why man must toil so laboriously. Zeus, having been deceived by the crafty Prometheus, hid fire from man. Prometheus, however, stole the fire from Zeus in a hollow fennel-stalk without the thunder-god noticing him. Zeus' violent anger causes him to punish mankind with a plague that will ultimately bring about destruction.

Laughing at the thought of this "evil thing" (Op. 57), Zeus orders Hephaestus to mix earth and water, to put a

human voice and life into it, and to mold it into the lovely shape of a maiden with a face like that of the immortal goddesses. He next commanded Athena to teach this maiden needlework and weaving, while Aphrodite was to give her grace, cruel longing and cares. Hermes was ordered to add a shameless mind and a deceitful nature.

After Hephaestus had fashioned this woman, Athena dressed her and the Graces, together with queenly Persuasion, put golden necklaces on her. The Seasons then put spring flowers on her head. Hermes, the slayer of Argus, embedded lies, crafty words, a deceitful nature and a voice in her. He called her Pandora because "all they who dwelt on Olympus gave each a gift, a plague to men who eat bread" (Op. 81-2).

Although Prometheus had warned his brother Epimetheus never to accept a gift from Zeus, when Hermes arrived with Pandora, Epimetheus took this beautiful evil thing, realizing later that she might be the very evil to mankind that his brother had mentioned. The gods had provided her with a pithos, which she presently opened, scattering sorrow and mischief all over the world. Previously, man had been free from ills, hard toil and sicknesses. Zeus made sure that Hope remained securely trapped in the pithos, while the plagues and evils permeated both the earth and sea.

Finally, in the conclusion of his story, Hesiod moralizes, "Of themselves diseases come upon men continually by day and by night, bringing mischief to mortals silently; for wise Zeus took away speech from them. So is there no way to escape the will of Zeus" (Op. 102-5).

After a quick perusal of both accounts, it appears that these two versions relate a consistent story of the same incident. Upon a more intensive examination, however, many essential differences can be pointed out. In fact, several critics maintain that the differences are so discrepant that Hesiod could not possibly have written both narratives. Others go even further and use the discrepancies in these renditions to prove that Hesiod did not write both the Theogony and the Works and Days. They hold that no author could have believed such conflicting stories, therefore Hesiod did not compose both of these works.

The most striking difference in a comparison of these two accounts is that the name of the woman that Zeus has ordered as a plague to mankind is not mentioned at all in the version of the Theogony. She is called "the maiden whom he (Zeus) had formed" (Th. 514) and a "beautiful evil" (Th. 585) but she is never given a proper name. In the Works and Days, on the other hand, she is not only described as a "great plague" (Op. 56) and a "sheer, hopeless snare" (Op. 83) but is also given the name Pandora² by the messenger-god Hermes. He calls her Pandora "because all they who dwelt on Olympus gave each a gift, a plague to men who eat bread" (Op. 81-2).

Another prominent divergence is the presence of the pithos in the Works and Days. It must be assumed that this pithos was in the house of Epimetheus when Pandora arrived and it is implied that the gods on Olympus were the ones who filled it up. At any rate, Pandora opens the pithos and lets the various evils inside escape, shutting in Hope alone.

There is no reference to this pithos of evils in the Theogony. Here the woman herself is the evil and exists as due punishment for mankind in order that the crime of Prometheus might be absolved. Conversely, in the Works and Days Pandora is only an evil because she opened the pithos. She is not the direct punishment for men to suffer, while the contents of the pithos she opens is.

In the Works and Days the Pandora myth appears to be more significant than the story of Prometheus. The author mentions nothing about the division of sacrifices which took place at Mecone, while in the Theogony the trick which Prometheus played on Zeus is discussed at some length. The Works and Days simply states that Zeus hid fire "because Prometheus the crafty deceived him" (Op. 48). In the Theogony, on the other hand, the motive for Zeus' action is explained. Moreover, here it is related not only that mankind was punished by the introduction of woman but also that Prometheus was punished by being chained to a rock and having his liver pecked out daily by an eagle. Therefore, while the Theogony emphasizes Prometheus' activities and shows Pandora as a result of these activities, the Works and Days emphasizes the actual introduction of woman and her subsequent influence on mankind.

Another difference in the two versions lies in the orders of Zeus. In both he commands Hephaestus, who is simply called "the very famous Limping God" (Th. 571, 579) in the Theogony, to create woman from clay. In the Works and Days he supplements this by ordering Athena to teach Pandora how to do

needlework and how to weave, Aphrodite to give her grace, cruel longing and cares and Hermes to put in her a shameless mind and a deceitful nature. The narrative then continues with the way in which their respective commands are implemented. The Theogony does not contain any of these instructions, but like the Works and Days does include what each of the Olympian gods and goddesses contributed to the completion of Pandora. It does not contain the actual instructions, but the result, if instructions had been given. And perhaps the reader is to assume that instructions had in fact been given.

In the Theogony the author briefly sketches the adornment of the newly-created woman. He reveals that Athena dressed this woman both in silvery clothes and in a veil which fell from her head down to her hands. In addition, the goddess "put about her head lovely garlands, flowers of new-grown herbs" (Th. 576-7). A golden diadem, decorated with life-like beasts of the land and sea, was made by Hephaestus in order to please his father Zeus. Pandora also displayed this diadem. The account in the Works and Days does not mention any silvery clothes but again Pandora is dressed by Athena. Unlike the former version, the divine Graces and queenly Persuasion slip golden necklaces around her neck. Here it is the Hours, instead of Athena, who crown her with spring flowers. Here too, Hermes puts lies, crafty words, a deceitful nature and the power of speech into her. The gifts then, which are received by Pandora, are noticeably different in both stories. The Theogony lacks

not only the orders of Zeus but also many of the gifts which are recorded in the Works and Days.

After the woman has been completed, Zeus, in the Theogony, displays her before an assembly of gods and men. Both mortals and immortals are amazed at her beauty and deadliness. There is no assembly like this in the Works and Days, where Pandora is seen being taken directly to earth by Hermes.

Hermes brings Pandora to earth as a gift for the unsuspecting Epimetheus, who foolishly accepts her, momentarily forgetting that his brother Prometheus had warned him never to accept a gift from Olympian Zeus. Epimetheus realizes much later that Pandora must be the gift which Prometheus had predicted as possibly proving harmful to men. In the Theogony the actual bringing to earth of the woman is not mentioned. Epimetheus is only quickly mentioned at the beginning of the myth as bringing "mischief to men who eat bread" (Th. 512) by accepting Zeus' gift. Therefore, in the Works and Days Epimetheus has a more outstanding role. He is shown accepting the woman despite the warning of his brother and it is in his home that Pandora opens the pithos of evils. Opposed to this is the Theogony version which does not even hint at the threat of Prometheus.

The myth as expressed in the Theogony has a kind of epilogue attached to it. This epilogue is best described as an invective against women. Here women are characterized in generalized examples as lazy and mischievous. The advantages and disadvantages of marriage are also treated. There is no passage in the Works and Days which deals with

this material.

Despite the numerous differences found in a closer examination of the Pandora myth in the Theogony and Works and Days, the action in both remains essentially the same. No matter how many technical points do not coincide, both narratives describe the creation of the first woman as the result of Zeus' anger at Prometheus and her ensuing destruction of mankind. The details might not be identical in all places but the results definitely are.

In fact, there are several corresponding lines which are either amazingly similar or exact copies of each other. The first example of this is lines 50-3 in the Works and Days and lines 563-9 in the Theogony. This section in the Works and Days reads:

He hid fire; but that the noble son of Iapetus
again for men from Zeus the counsellor in a
hollow fennel-stalk, so that Zeus who delights
in thunder did not see it,

while this same idea in the Theogony reads:

... and from that time he was always mindful
of the trick, and would not give the power
of unwearying fire to the Melian race of mortal
men who live on the earth. But the noble son
of Iapetus outwitted him and stole the far-seen
gleam of unwearying fire in a hollow fennel-
stalk. And Zeus who thunders on high was stung
in spirit, and his dear heart was angered when
he saw amongst men the far-seen ray of fire.

The eighteenth century critic William Mure was thoroughly convinced that these lines coincided when he wrote, "that the second of these passages (the excerpt from the Theogony)

is a servile copy or paraphrase of the first cannot admit of a doubt. Every idea, so simply expressed in the one, is expanded or diluted in the other by superfluous epithets or diffuse periphrasis."³

The second set of similar lines occurs in lines 70-2 in the Works and Days and lines 571-3 in the Theogony. These passages depict the obedience of Hephaestus to the instructions of Zeus and the dressing of Pandora by Athena. This scene in the Works and Days is described thus:

Forthwith the famous Lamè God moulded clay
in the likeness of a modest maid, as the
son of Cronos purposed. And the goddess
bright-eyed Athene girded and clothed her...

The Theogony correspondingly expresses the action as:

... for the very famous Limping God formed
of earth the likeness of a shy maiden as
the son of Cronos willed. And the goddess
bright-eyed Athene girded and clothed her
with silvery raiment.

In these two passages some of the identical words have been employed. For example, Hephaestus is described as famous (Op. 70; Th. 571) and limping (Op. 70; Th. 571) in both accounts. He has been ordered by the son of Cronos to mold from earth the likeness of a shy maiden (Op. 70; Th. 572). The bright-eyed Athena dresses her in both the works (Op. 72; Th. 573). These passages are almost identical then, recording the same event in the same phraseology.

The third and final equivalent lines are found at the conclusion of the Pandora myth in both compositions. In the

Works and Days this is the terminating line of the myth, "So there is no way to escape the will of Zeus" (Op. 105). In the Theogony the moral appears as the first sentence of the last paragraph, when the writer claims, "So it is not possible to deceive or go beyond the will of Zeus" (Th. 613). Both versions of the myth, therefore, end on an identical note. No matter how cunning a person is, the will of Zeus cannot be surpassed. Mankind will consequently suffer forever with the arrival of that beautiful evil thing - woman.

Several critics hold that the myth as told in the Theogony is too far removed from the one told in the Works and Days to have been composed by the same author. They refer to the abundance of divergent details contained in the separate accounts, but specifically to the command of Zeus issued to Hephaestus and the other deities. In the Works and Days, moreover, Zeus not only instructs more divinities to assist in the completion of Pandora than he has in the Theogony but he also finds that several goddesses participate independent of his command. For example, the Graces and Persuasion are not requested to bestow any gifts on Pandora, but they do so anyway. They all place necklaces around Pandora's neck without any command from Zeus. For this reason A. S. F. Gow is led to conclude that in the Works and Days "the story in its present form contains two elements."⁴ In other words, two completely different versions form the Pandora myth in the Works and Days. The critics maintain, therefore, that the individual myths were not com-

posed by the same writer and so it cannot be expected that the entire Pandora myth in the Theogony was written by the same individual who wrote the entire Pandora myth in the Works and Days. Indeed, certain portions could have been lifted from one account to the other, but the same person could not have composed both.

While this argument is highly convincing, most critics hold that the version of the Pandora myth in the Theogony is consistent with the version in the Works and Days. In fact, two critics believe that the myth in the Works and Days is "supplemented by a shorter passage in the Theogony."⁵ The eminent scholar F. A. Paley holds that the Pandora myth in the Theogony is "only another version of the story"⁶ related in the Works and Days. Similarly, a Hungarian critic thinks that the version in the Works and Days "may be looked upon as a short summary"⁷ of the Theogony version. The famous Hesiodic scholastic, A. Rzach comments that in the Works and Days "dagegen sei der Mythos vom ersten weibe durch eine in die Theogonie geratene partie, Theog. 590-612."⁸ Ioannes Flach, who edited Hesiod's writings, confidently states that in relation to the version told in the Theogony "(n)arratur eadem fabula de Prometheo et Pandora in Oper."⁹ And finally, the modern scholar, Friedrich Solmsen, claims that these two accounts of the Pandora myth are very close in both "spirit and outlook."¹⁰

Although it is true that most critics believe that the versions of the Pandora myth in the Theogony and the Works and Days are in essential agreement, there are some who think

that Hesiod wrote only the Theogony. Of course, there are also those who think he wrote only the Works and Days. Some claim that they have absolute proof that Hesiod did not write the Theogony, while others claim the same for the Works and Days. Fortunately, there are only a few critics who maintain that Hesiod wrote neither of these works. Beloch, however, does not think that Hesiod was even a real person, when he asserts, "Hesiod is so wenig eine historische Persönlichkeit wie Homer."¹¹ His reasoning, though, is not generally accepted.

About the only critic who denies the Works and Days to Hesiod is H. T. Wade-Gery, who reasons, "I do not myself believe Hesiod wrote the Days, but I do not feel dogmatic: it contains no autobiography as his certainly genuine poems do."¹² On the other hand, there are numerous ancient and modern scholars who doubt that Hesiod wrote the Theogony. The ancient geographer Pausanias, for example, writes that even the Boeotians¹³ did not consider the Theogony to have been authored by Hesiod (9.31.4). Apparently his logic is that if anyone would know that Hesiod had written the Theogony, it would be his fellow countrymen, and since they denied it to him, he could not have possibly written it. H. G. Evelyn-White and other scholars maintain that the opening lines of the Theogony prove that Hesiod did not compose this work. He claims:

It is surely an error to suppose that lines 22-35 all refer to Hesiod: rather, the author of the Theogony tells the story of his own

inspiration by the same Muses who once taught Hesiod glorious song. The lines 22-3 are therefore a very early piece of tradition about Hesiod, and though the appearance of Muses must be treated as graceful fiction, we find that a writer, later than the Works and Days by perhaps no more than three-quarters of a century, believed in the actuality of Hesiod and in his life as a farmer or shepherd.¹⁴

These scholars believe, then, that it was simply some later writer, who knew of Hesiod, who wrote the Theogony, but, most importantly, that it was not Hesiod himself. T. W. Allen, another modern scholar, agrees with this conviction when he argues that the Theogony "was the output of successors and disciples."¹⁵ Also in agreement with them is the prominent classicist C. M. Bowra, who suggests that the Theogony mentions "Hesiod as a man who is clearly not the author of the Theogony"¹⁶ and that this genealogy was legitimately "written by an anonymous poet, who refers to Hesiod as his master."¹⁷

While there is much speculation as to the authorship of the Theogony, it is fairly certain that Hesiod did compose the Works and Days. A. A. Trever, who indicates that Hesiod's works reveal significant material concerning the economics of his day, writes, "As to the historicity of Hesiod as the poet of the 'Erga,' there is little question."¹⁸ He bases this belief on the extreme personal tone of the poem. Similarly, I. Trencsenyi-Waldapfel says of the Works, "We have accepted the traditional text entirely, and on the whole, as the work of Hesiod."¹⁹ And similarly, Rzach states, "Das einzige Hesiodische Werk, gegen dessen Echtheit niemals ein

Einwand erhoben wurde, sind die "Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι." ²⁰

All of these more modern opinions are certainly based on the report of Pausanias of his encounter with the Boeotians, which reads:

The Boeotians of Helicon have a tradition that Hesiod composed nothing but the Works, and even from it they strike out the preliminary address to the Muses, saying that the poem begins with the passage about the Strifes. They showed me also beside the spring a leaden tablet very time-worn, on which are engraved the Works (9.31.4).

Colonel William Mure is not only convinced that Hesiod positively wrote the Works and Days but also that he positively did not write the Theogony. Mure claims that these statements follow logically from one another. While he concedes that the two works are very similar in entire passages and verses, in dialect, in versification and in idiomatic expression, he suggests that this could have been due to one author being influenced by or borrowing from another. He explains the differences in the Works and Days itself as the result of Hesiod's ambition to write heroic poetry, to which he was not suited. Although he might have tried to do the same in the Theogony, some of its passages, "marked by glaring exaggeration of parallel texts of the Works, savour more of the plagiarist than of the same author."²¹ In the Works and Days Hesiod clearly identifies himself as a Boeotian. Conversely, in the Theogony none of this nationalistic spirit shows up. If the author of the Theogony had been Hesiod, surely he would have included a

Boeotian stream as a son of Ocean.²² Despite any similarities between the two works, their subject matter is too diverse even to compare.

There are still some, however, who believe, despite their many opponents, that Hesiod did write the Theogony. For both Plato and Herodotus attribute this work to the Boeotian (Plato, Leg. 10.886C; Herod. 2.53). Even Pausanias, who at first pretends to be steadfastly against Hesiod as the author of the Theogony, eventually gives way. He begins by commenting, "Hesiod, in the Theogony - for there are some who believe that poem to be Hesiod's" (8.18.1), and "Hesiod, or the person who fathered the Theogony on him" (9.27.2), but finally admits a little later that there might even be a good number of people who think that Hesiod wrote more than the Works and Days, when he writes:

There is another opinion, quite distinct from the former, that Hesiod composed a great number of poems, namely, the poem on women, the poem called the Great Eolae, the Theogony, the poem on the soothsayer Melampus, the poem on the descent of Theseus and Pirithous to hell, the Precepts of Chiron for the Instruction of Achilles, and various other poems besides the Works and Days (9.31.5).

But ultimately, in his final comment concerning Hesiod, he decides not to make any definite commitment due to the controversy and says, "But Hesiod in the Theogony, the authenticity of which I leave an open question..." (9.35.5), thus eliminating his complete faith in the statement of the Boeotians.

The majority of critics either firmly believe that Hesiod wrote both the Theogony and the Works and Days or accept that he did because they cannot be thoroughly convinced otherwise. Friedrich Solmsen treats "the Theogony and the Works and Days as poems of the same man."²³ Another critic maintains that because Hesiod names himself in the Theogony and because of the similarity of style and thought in the two poems, Hesiod most definitely wrote them both. "Both bear the marks of a distinct personality: a surly, conservative countryman, given to reflection, no lover of women or of life, who felt the gods' presence heavy about him."²⁴ H. T. Wade-Gery asks, "Did Hesiod write both poems? For myself, I entertain no shadow of doubt."²⁵

The most obvious conclusion then is that Hesiod composed both the Theogony and the Works and Days. There is really no strong, convincing evidence that he did not write both. It is only logical, therefore, that the statement of Herodotus that Hesiod "taught the Greeks of the descent of the gods, and gave to all their several names, and honors, and arts, and declared their outward forms" (Herod. 2.53), together with the generally accepted opinion that Hesiod was the author of the Works and Days proves that he did compose both. Although Pausanias claims that Hesiod wrote only the Works, it is much wiser to accept the view of Herodotus, who lived approximately three centuries closer to the actual writing of the Theogony and Works and Days than did Pausanias. Even so, Pausanias begins to doubt the belief of the Boeotians. The similarities between the works are also too close to have

been written by two different authors. Of course certain words or ideas can always be plagiarized, but certain characteristics such as style and thought cannot be so perfectly imitated.

If Hesiod wrote both poems, then he certainly wrote both accounts of the Pandora myth contained in the poems. He not only intended the myth to be in both works but the two versions that have resulted are in essential agreement. These versions relate a consistent story of man's fall from his previous happy condition in the Golden Age to his condition of evil and sickness.

There are, of course, the surface differences in the versions of the myth. These so-called differences, though, are outweighed by the overwhelming parallels in the accounts. In fact, these differences really cannot be called differences at all. For example, Zeus' commands in the two poems are held to differ significantly. In the Works and Days he is seen actually giving out the orders, while in the Theogony the deities are seen simply carrying out his instructions. There are also inconsistencies within Zeus' orders themselves in the Works. For he only gives orders to Hephaestus, Athena, Aphrodite and Hermes, while these deities plus the Graces and Persuasion are shown carrying out the orders. Solmsen argues that critics take this internal inconsistency too seriously and are incorrect in thinking "that there must be... complete agreement between a command and its execution."²⁶ As for Zeus actually handing out instructions in the Works and Days and not doing so in the Theogony, this is really

not a "difference." It is just another device for telling the same story which ultimately has the same result.

On the other hand, it would have been impossible for Hesiod to compose the two versions exactly alike because the function of this myth is different in each poem. Ioannes Flach supports this theory, when he writes, "Nam haec diversitas facillime explicatur ex diversa horum poematum ratione, quorum alterum est mere physiologicum et theogonicum, alterum ethicum atque ad practicam philosophiam pertinens."²⁷ Trencsényi-Waldapfel offers the most thorough explication of this viewpoint, when he explains:

Attention must be called to the fact that the myth has two and entirely different functions in the two epic works as far as its place and part in the entire composition is concerned. In the Theogony a completely rounded world-picture is given in a genealogical form, and within this world-picture a woman serves as the divine tool to punish man in order to emphasize the opposing interests of the gods and of men, of men and of women. In the Works and Days the same myth is the starting-point towards the answer: how is it that men have to toil with painful drudgery to provide their daily food.²⁸

This theory, that the myths in each poem have a different function, accounts for the emphasis placed on Pandora rather than on Prometheus in the Works and Days and the emphasis placed on Prometheus rather than Pandora in the Theogony. For in the Works, Hesiod tried to answer the question why man had to toil in order not to starve. He used Pandora as his answer and therefore Prometheus was only secondary as the source of her creation. On the other hand, the function

of the Theogony is the presentation of the genealogy of the gods. Prometheus, then, as a god, would certainly be emphasized and Pandora would be only a secondary factor as an instrument of Zeus in order to punish both Prometheus and his benefactors. This theory also serves to explain the increased role of Epimetheus in the Works and Days. Since Pandora is emphasized in this poem, so is Epimetheus. For he is the one who accepted her and allowed her to uncover the jar in his house, thus releasing all of the evils in the world and resulting in continual toil for mankind.

These apparent differences, then, can be explained in another manner. It has been suggested that perhaps Hesiod reinterpreted and readjusted the Pandora myth in between writing the Theogony and the Works and Days.²⁹ Perhaps after writing the Theogony he "thought further about the subject and arrived at new conclusions."³⁰ During this period Hesiod not only discovered new details with which he could supplement his original material but he also analyzed anew the entire myth and arrived at a different interpretation. As a result of this reinterpretation and the learning of new details, he both added new events and subtracted unimportant details in the Works and Days version of the Pandora myth. For example, Hesiod found it necessary to add the woman's name, the jar in the house of Epimetheus and the number of deities involved in the creation of Pandora. Similarly, he thought it better to remove the assembly of gods and men before which Pandora stands along with the concluding invective against the female sex. He makes all these changes as the

result of his further learning and interpretation of the myth.

This concept of reinterpretation and new knowledge is really not so difficult for the modern scholar to comprehend. Scholars use essentially the same line of reasoning in Gospel study. For it is not easy to understand why the Gospel of Matthew contains more material than the Gospel of Mark, or why the Gospel of Luke contains more than the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, or why the Gospel of John contains more than the preceding three. The explanation which is generally accepted is that as each successive writer told his story, he heard of more details in the life of Jesus and reinterpreted the material that was written before him. There is no reason, then, why Hesiod could not have done the same with the myth of Pandora.

Once it has been shown, therefore, that Hesiod composed both the Theogony and the Works and Days, it can also be proven that he wrote both accounts of the Pandora myth and that these myths are in essential agreement. The differences in these two accounts are really not differences at all. And furthermore, as Solmsen says, "If contradictions matter, it is well to consider that they may be found even within the same poem, not only between one poem and the other."³¹ These differences can also be explained by the distinct function of each myth in its respective poem. Even if they were true differences, the parallels between the two accounts far outweigh any dissimilarities. Finally, Hesiod could have simply added details to the Works and Days which he considered perti-

nent and subtracted those which he thought irrelevant. In conclusion, the two accounts are simply versions of one another and are in agreement.

CHAPTER 2

PANDORA: AN INTERPRETATION

When these two versions of the Pandora myth which have been shown to be in essential agreement are meshed together, a composite narrative is revealed that has undergone exhaustive interpretation since the time of Hesiod's composition. Certain areas in such a study, while not explicitly disclosed in the myth proper, are highly important for a thorough understanding of Pandora and her relationship to the other figures which Hesiod employs in this myth.

Highly significant are the characterizations of Prometheus and Epimetheus. It will be recalled that Prometheus is more emphasized in the Theogony due to his role in the genealogy of the gods, while Epimetheus is more emphasized in the Works and Days because of his important task of accepting Pandora into his home. Indeed, Epimetheus does this also in the Theogony but the blame placed on him for the evils which result is minimal. In both works, however, he is the "representative of the male sex, (who) took Pandora into his house through imprudent thoughtlessness."¹ This corresponds to his name, which literally means "Afterthought." He realizes too late that his brother's warning to him concerned this woman. Paley

calls him "a kind of mythological blunderer, always in the wrong at the time of acting, though accustomed to repair his errors by afterthought."² He signifies "precisely the man who marries in haste to repent at leisure."³ His fundamental purpose in the myth is to act as an instrument of Zeus for the acceptance of the woman and for the subsequent release of evil, whether this evil be woman herself as in the Theogony or the plagues which scatter from the pithos in the Works and Days.

The meaning of Prometheus' name, on the other hand, as opposed to that of his brother, is "Forethought." His mind is quick and he foresees the imminent destruction of mankind. He is much too shrewd to unquestioningly accept such a trick. In other accounts he is often credited with molding mankind from clay, as well as having been the teacher of human craftsmen and having originally presented fire to man.⁴ E. A. Havelock claims that he was given the name Forethought because "it represents the ability to visualize the end beyond the end beyond the end. It is always shaping and then reshaping the means to embrace an objective which becomes wider and wider."⁵ Ironically, despite his intelligence, he is punished just as severely as man. Zeus, therefore, equally suppresses both the foolish and the wise.

Ioannes Flach believes that all four of the sons of Iapetus and Clymene are representative of a specific abstract quality. His theory reads:

In toto hoc mytho vere humano et humanam
naturam repraesentante Atlas significat

tolerantiam, Prometheus providentiam,
 Epimetheus caecitatem, Menoetius mortalitatem...
 hominum, quae nascitur ex nimia audacia;
 atque ex hac coniunctione duorum bonorum
 et duorum malorum mira est exorta natura
 humana.

All of the brothers, then, are used by Hesiod as representatives of human characteristics.

Carrying the above concept even further, the central figures in the Pandora myth can be held representative of actual persons in Hesiod's day. This would be especially true of the Works and Days. Here Hesiod is scolding his brother Perses for thinking that he can exist in comfort without working hard. Prometheus represents Hesiod, for they both extend warnings to their younger brothers. Epimetheus, therefore, represents Perses, because they are both foolish young men, who do not heed the words of their more knowledgeable brothers. Even Pandora has a counterpart. In her character "there is a covert allusion to the foolish wife of Perses, who encouraged his extravagance, and seems to have inspired Hesiod with an aversion for her sex."⁷

Another significant area of interpretation deals with the pithos of evils in the Works and Days. Jane Harrison reveals an important part of the question about the pithos, when she comments:

No myth is more familiar than that of Pandora, none perhaps has been so completely misunderstood. Pandora is the first woman, the beautiful mischief: she opens the forbidden box, out comes every evil that flesh is heir to; hope only remains. The box of

Pandora is proverbial, and that is the more remarkable as she never had a box at all.⁸

The idea of a box must have evolved throughout the centuries because Hesiod certainly used the word pithos, which is most closely translated as a "jar." In fact, all of the Greek authors who wrote about the Pandora myth until the twelfth century A. D. used the word pithos. Although the myth was not utilized often, Sophocles and Apollodorus were thought to have included it in their works, while Babrius, Nonnus, Makedonios, Proclus, Eustathius and Tzetzes all explicitly use pithos.⁹

It has been suggested that a pithos is "a huge earthenware storage jar used for the preservation of wine, oil, and other provisions, and often large enough to serve as a receptacle for the dead or, later on, a shelter for the living."¹⁰ Trencsényi-Waldapfel claims that the pithos in the house of Epimetheus is "a container of a type such as were unearthed at Troy and Crete that used to be partly sunk into the ground and served to store grain, oil, legumens, etc."¹¹ Throughout his article he refers to the pithos as a "corn-bin."

In the Iliad Homer mentions the two pithoi of Zeus. These pithoi are very similar to the one opened by Pandora and have the same basic function. Homer describes them:

For two urns are set upon the floor of Zeus
of gifts that he giveth, the one of ills, the
other of blessings. To whomsoever Zeus, that
hurleth the thunderbolt, giveth a mingled lot,
that man meeteth now with evil, now with good;

but to whomsoever he giveth but of the baneful, him he maketh to be reviled of man, and direful madness driveth him over the face of the sacred earth, and he wandereth honoured neither of gods nor mortals (Il. 24.527-33).

The appearance of the pithos at the house of Epimetheus is often questioned. There is no mention in the preceding text of any pithos having been given to Pandora along with her other gifts. Accordingly, it must have already been in Epimetheus' house when she arrived. It could have possibly been one of his storage jars. It has been suggested that this pithos might have formed "part of her and Epimetheus' domestic establishment."¹² Hesiod never tells his readers how the evils got into the pithos or why, in fact, Pandora opened it. One interpreter indicates that it is a "likely solution that Prometheus, the embodiment of mythic philanthropy, had imprisoned 'human ills' in a chest in the abode of Epimetheus, and this chest was tampered with through the same craving for knowledge which actuated mother Eve."¹³ Another maintains that the gifts given to Pandora, which Hesiod mentions in line 82 of the Works and Days, are the evils that the ones who dwell on Olympus put into the pithos.¹⁴

Various kinds of evils fly out of the pithos, but Hope remains trapped inside, after Pandora shuts the lid. Although Hesiod does not mention both goods and evils being contained inside, Hope must have been inside all the time. Hope was a good quality which man does not deserve to possess. Man does not deserve Hope because "his condition is

'hopeless;' he may not expect any other condition than the earning of his bread by the sweat of his brow."¹⁵ Zeus, therefore, in order that man should suffer more by knowing that he came so close to obtaining Hope, causes Pandora to shap the lid shut (Op. 98).

Within the Pandora myth in the Works and Days Hesiod comments, "For ere this the tribes of men lived on earth remote and free from ill's and hard toil and heavy sicknesses which bring the Fates upon men; for in misery men grow old quickly" (Op. 90-2). He more clearly explains the differences in these two ages and all of the ages of mankind in lines 109-201. Not only was there a time when there were no evils and a time when there was misery and men grew old quickly, but altogether there were five ages of man. At first "the deathless gods who dwell on Olympus" created the Golden Age (Op. 109-10). This age was under the rule of Cronos and men were like gods, not being plagued by evils. They never lacked anything, and instead of dying they merely fell asleep. Next, a silver race of men was established, which was "less noble by far" (Op. 127). These men were extremely foolish and consequently were not capable of honoring the gods. Cronos' son, Zeus, therefore, destroyed them and "made a third generation of mortal men, a brazen race, sprung from ash-trees" (Op. 143-4). They were so war-like that they soon destroyed themselves, passing down to Hades and leaving no heirs. Zeus created a fourth generation of demi-gods. Many of them were eliminated by the wars in Thebes and Troy, while others lived happily on the islands of the

blessed. Finally, the fifth and final generation, the iron race, was constituted. Hesiod complains of the hardships of this Iron Age, the time in which he lives, even though the evils are mixed with some good. Old age is prevalent and there is little agreement between people. The evil men, rather than the righteous, are rewarded. There is no way to escape evil.

This Iron Age, therefore, is the one that has been brought on by the opening of the pithos by Pandora. Before this age man had been without hard work and sickness. Men are not like gods at all anymore, but have to toil for what they receive. The blame for all the evil which surrounds mankind clearly rests with Pandora. If it had not been for her and the clever Prometheus, man would still be enjoying the blessings of a previous age.

Hesiod uses the phrase Kalon Kakon, "beautiful evil thing," when describing Pandora as the source of evil for mankind (Th. 585). She is truly a beautiful creature, having been fashioned "like the immortal goddesses in face" (Op. 62). She is also an evil, having opened the pithos and scattering plagues all over the land and sea. Even the gifts of Aphrodite and Hermes were harmful rather than beneficial, thus causing her to become basically evil.¹⁶ But Hesiod has a more significant reason for calling her a Kalon Kakon. He is thoroughly entrenched, especially in the Works and Days, in the problem of evil. He continually searches for reasons and answers in order to explain the prevalence of evil. He discovers his solution in Pandora, who is "the

root of all evil"¹⁷ and a "beautiful evil thing" -- the highest, most beautiful, the ultimate and perfect evil. For Hesiod she is the origin of all things bad and represents every possible evil in the existence of man.

Another area of interpretation deals with the role of Zeus during the division of the sacrifices at Mecone. When Prometheus asks him to choose which portion of meat should be sacrificed to the gods, Zeus selects the bones, cunningly wrapped in the appealing white fat. Solmsen maintains that "Zeus himself was clearly the dupe who when he was offered the choice between the two piles of meat chose that which had a thin layer of fat on its top but consisted underneath entirely of bones."¹⁸ This, however, is not consistent with the story that Hesiod relates. For he says that "Zeus, whose wisdom is everlasting, saw and failed not to perceive the trick, and in his heart he thought mischief against mortal men which also was to be fulfilled" (Th. 549-52). Therefore, he claims that Zeus was not tricked at all and that he had been aware of what was going to happen the whole time. He only allowed Prometheus to continue his deception because he knew that he would have final satisfaction.

This interpretation coincides best with Hesiod's basic attitude towards Zeus. Zeus is intellectually supreme and his "wisdom is everlasting" (Th. 561). He is "the all-knowing god who notices quite well what Prometheus has in mind when he offers him the choice between the two piles."¹⁹ This supreme wisdom is magnified in the conclusion of the episode, when Hesiod proclaims, "So it is not possible to de-

ceive or go beyond the will of Zeus" (Th. 613). Zeus will be eternally superior to both men and gods and "neither force nor fraud can challenge (his) supremacy."²⁰

Hesiod not only uses the narrative of the sacrifices in order to draw attention to the omnipotence of Zeus but he also uses it to explain the nature of sacrifice to the gods. It appeared to both Hesiod and his contemporaries somewhat odd that man received the best portions of the sacrificial animal, while the gods were offered the remainder. Therefore, Hesiod clarified this point in the aetiological myth of Prometheus and Pandora. Through this myth Zeus' "choice carried with it momentous consequences. It decided for once and all that at sacrificial feasts men, henceforth, would be justified to keep to themselves all the valuable parts of the sacrificial beast, the parts most suited for human consumption, while only the bones would be placed on the burning altars for the benefit of the immortal gods."²¹

CHAPTER 3

HESIOD'S PANDORA AND THE WOMEN OF HOMER

In both the Iliad and the Odyssey Homer uses women as central characters. He is basically sympathetic towards his females, although they are always shown with not only good but also conniving qualities. Their dual nature significantly contrasts with the completely deceitful nature of Hesiod's Pandora. While Hesiod is more harsh in his attitude towards women, an attitude which was prevalent in the troubled society of his time, Homer was able to recognize that women had their good qualities even though they tended to be inherently cunning.

Despite their difference in attitude towards the female sex, both poets drew on a common stock of symbols to describe their women. Hesiod clearly borrowed from Homer. Centuries after the composition of the Iliad and the Odyssey, Hesiod perused both works and was significantly influenced by Homer's description of women. Hesiod's attitude towards women remained unaltered but he took his description of Pandora from Homer's descriptions of his many female characters. He borrowed several descriptive words right from Homer's texts, although he applied most of the older poet's descriptions quite uniquely, adapting them to his special description of Pandora.

Therefore, a definite symbolic pattern of description, which is created by the use of the same terms by both poets, becomes increasingly apparent. Hesiod borrows the details for his description of Pandora from the description of eight basic Homeric women. There are, of course, several other women in Homer's works which Hesiod could have and probably did borrow from. These eight women, however, possess the most significant characteristics which Hesiod later assigned to Pandora. Also, the characteristics of the several Homeric women besides these eight are simply repetitive and very similar to the characteristics of these actual eight primary Homeric women.

On the island of Pharos off the coast of Egypt Telemachus encounters Eidothea, the "daughter of mighty Proteus, the old man of the sea" (Od. 4.365-6). She takes a liking to the young man and offers to help him and his crew escape the island. They have been held on Pharos for twenty days by the gods but do not understand what they have done wrong. Eidothea, the "beautiful goddess" (Od. 4.382), suggests that they question her father, the "immortal Proteus of Egypt, who knows the depths of every sea, and is the servant of Poseidon" (Od. 4.385-6). If Telemachus is able to capture the old man, Eidothea claims that her father will tell him "thy way and the measure of thy path, and of thy return, how thou mayest go over the teeming deep. Aye, and he will tell thee, thou fostered of Zeus, if so thou wilt, what evil and what good has been wrought in thy halls, while thou hast been gone on thy long and grievous way" (Od. 4.389-93).

She devises the plan for the capture and subsequent questioning of her father. Telemachus and three of his men are to hide under sealskins on the beach and hold Proteus down when he lies on the sand to sleep. This way they can question him and find out what they must do to appease the gods.

Eidothea dives into the sea and returns with four skins. Cleverly she uses ambrosia to destroy their strong smell. The men lie in wait under the skins and jump on Proteus when he emerges from the sea at noon. He changes his shape into various beasts but the four men are able to keep him down and question him. He tells them to offer hecatombs to the gods and relates to Telemachus the occurrences at his home in Mycenae since his departure.

Hesiod borrowed several details from the character of Eidothea. While Eidothea is a "beautiful goddess" (Od. 4. 382, 398), Pandora is "like to the immortal goddesses in face" (Op. 63) and a "beautiful evil" (Th. 585). Eidothea is clever in devising the plot against her father and in using the ambrosia to destroy the stench of the sealskins. Hesiod uses these details when he has Hermes give Pandora "lies and crafty words and a deceitful nature" (Op. 73) and when he calls her a "sheer guile" (Th. 589).

When Odysseus is shipwrecked near the city of the Phaeacians, Athena appears to the maiden Nausicaa, "the daughter of great-hearted Alcinous" (Od. 6.17), and convinces her that her marriage linen needs to be laundered in the nearby river the following day. In this way the god-

dess plans to have Nausicaa meet Odysseus and bring him to her home where he can receive assistance from Alcinous to continue his journey home. Athena appears to Nausicaa in a dream, disguised as her close friend. In the morning the young girl asks her father for a wagon to go to the river to wash her soiled clothing. She also adds that he needs clean clothing when he is at council with the princes and that her three bachelor brothers need clean clothing when they attend dances. She carefully avoids any mention of her impending marriage.

Nausicaa's mother, Arete, gives her a chest of food, a flask of wine and a golden flask of olive oil for her bath. She and her handmaidens set out for the river. After they have washed the garments, they spread them out on the pebbles. Then they bathed in the river and ate on the shore. While waiting for the clothing to dry, they played a game of ball. As they were about to leave, Nausicaa tossed the ball to one of her maidens, who missed it. The ball rolled into a deep eddy and they all shrieked aloud, which woke Odysseus up, who was sleeping in some bushes nearby.

Odysseus comes out of the bushes, which causes all of the handmaidens to flee. Athena puts courage into Nausicaa's heart and she alone remains to confront the naked Odysseus, giving him food, clothing and directions to her father's palace. She does not want him to come directly to the palace with her in case the villagers might talk about them.

When Nausicaa arrives home, she stops the mules, her brothers unharness them and carry the clothing inside, and

she goes to her room. There her waiting-woman, Eurymedusa, kindles the fire and prepares the supper. Alcinous receives Odysseus warmly but maintains that his daughter should have brought him directly to the palace. The next day, before the departure of Odysseus, Nausicaa stands by the door-post to bid him farewell and remind him that she saved his life.

Pandora is very similar in detail to the young Nausicaa. Firstly, they are both very beautiful. Nausicaa is "like the immortal goddesses in form and comeliness" (Od. 6.16), while Pandora is "like to the immortal goddesses in face" (Op. 63). Homer describes Nausicaa as "gifted with beauty by the Graces" (Od. 6.18), "fair-faced" (Od. 6.142), "gifted with beauty by the gods" (Od. 8.457) and "white-armed" (Od. 6.101, 186, 251; 7.12). Hesiod reveals Pandora's beauty too, when he describes her as "lovely" (Op. 63) and "beautiful" (Th. 585).

In addition to being beautiful, both Nausicaa and Pandora have lovely clothing. Although she has to be prodded by Athena to wash her marriage clothing, the young maiden is "Nausicaa of the beautiful robes" (Od. 6.49). Hesiod emphasizes this idea of being beautifully dressed in his description of Pandora. Pandora is dressed by Athena in "silvery raiment" (Th. 574). She also wears a veil, a crown of gold, necklaces of gold and garlands of spring flowers.

Hesiod's Pandora, like Nausicaa, is a maiden just about to be married. Nausicaa is "the maid unwed" (Od. 6.109, 228) and is often referred to as a maiden. She goes to the river to wash her clothing in preparation for her upcoming mar-

riage. Athena reminds her that her "marriage is near at hand" (Od. 6.27) and Nausicaa fears that the Phaeacians will think that Odysseus "will doubtless be a husband for her" (Od. 6.277). Pandora has a "maiden-shape" (Op. 63) and is sent to the house of Epimetheus, soon to become his bride.

Both women are extremely clever. Nausicaa uses her own cunning quite often. She cleverly avoids mentioning her marriage to Alcinous and creates the plan for Odysseus' arrival at the palace. She lures Odysseus to her own home and hints at their possible relationship when she tells him what the Phaeacians might say about them. She is not at the doorway by coincidence the next day but contrives to be there and plays on Odysseus' sympathies, asking him to remember her always. She knows all of the tricks of a woman and uses them to their fullest extent. Although Pandora is also clever, she receives her cunning from the gods. She tricks man by being both irresistible and yet deadly. Her charms and trickery are passed on to the race of women.

The "queenly nymph Calypso" (Od. 1.14) comes to the aid of Odysseus when Zeus strikes his ship with a thunder bolt. His ship is shattered and his comrades perish but he hangs onto the keel and drifts for nine days. On the tenth night Odysseus lands on Calypso's island, Ogygia. Calypso welcomes him into her home, providing him with food and promising him immortality. For seven years she unsuccessfully tries to persuade him to become her husband. Mysteriously in the eighth year she sends him away. She gives him a raft, some bread, and a skin of sweet wine, she dresses him in immortal

clothes, and lastly, she sends forth favorable winds to assist the sailing of his raft. For seventeen days Odysseus drifts until he is shipwrecked on the shore of the Phaeacians.

Calypso is repeatedly described by Homer as "the beautiful goddess" (Od. 1.14; 5.78, 85, 116, 159, 180, 192, 202, 242, 246, 258, 263, 276, 321, 372; 9.29). Light colored hair was a sign of great beauty in the Homeric Age and she is depicted as being "fair-tressed" (Od. 7.245, 254; 8.452; 12.389, 448). She is aware of her beauty and when she compared herself to Penelope, the wife of Odysseus, she claims, "Surely not inferior to her do I declare myself to be either in form or stature, for in no wise is it seemly that mortal women should vie with immortals in form or comeliness" (Od. 5.211-3). This emphasis on beauty surely influenced Hesiod's description of Pandora as a beautiful creation of the gods on Olympus.

Calypso dresses "in a long white robe, finely woven and beautiful, and about her waist she cast a fair girdle of gold, and on her head a veil above" (Od. 5. 230-2). These details were undoubtedly borrowed by Hesiod. Similarly, Pandora is dressed in "silvery raiment" (Th. 574) and a "broidered veil" (Th. 574-5) by Athena.

The nymph, like Pandora and her deadly race of women, is cunning and full of tricks. Although she is ultimately unable to have Odysseus as her own, she does manage to keep him on Ogygia for almost eight years. She completely throws him off guard when she helps him prepare for his departure. Homer calls her "guileful Calypso, a dread goddess" (Od. 7.

245) and the "dread goddess of human speech" (Od. 12. 448).

Clytemnestra, the wife of Agamemnon, King of Mycenae, the queen with "an understanding heart" (Od. 3.266), is characterized by Homer as possessing both good and evil qualities. When Agamemnon is preparing to depart the mainland for Troy, he leaves behind a minstrel "to guard his wife" (Od. 3.268). But as a consequence of the will of the gods "Aegisthus took the minstrel to a desert isle and left him to be the prey and spoil of birds" (Od. 3.270-1). He then takes Clytemnestra as his wife, offering many sacrifices to the gods, "since he had accomplished a mighty deed beyond all his heart had hoped" (Od. 3.275). The queen was "willing as he was willing" (Od. 3.272) to be his bride.

When Agamemnon returns from the war with Troy, he is slain by the "craven Aegisthus" (Od. 3.310), while his concubine, Cassandra, is slain by Clytemnestra. The ghost of Agamemnon, speaking to Odysseus about Clytemnestra, says that she "turned her back upon me, and even though I was going to the house of Hades deigned neither to draw down my eyelids with her fingers nor to close my mouth" (Od. 11. 424-6). Clytemnestra, then, although unkind to her dead husband, is not his slayer, being only the murderess of Cassandra.

The reign of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra lasts for seven years until the arrival of "the goodly Orestes" (Od. 3.306), the son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, from Athens. This young man kills Aegisthus in order to avenge his father's death. On the other hand, Homer never comments on the slayer

of Clytemnestra but does say that Orestes holds a funeral feast for the Argives as a result of the deaths of both his mother and Aegisthus.

Clytemnestra is also a beautiful Homeric woman from whom Hesiod took the quality of beauty and bestowed it upon Pandora. The queen of Mycenae is called "the beautiful Clytemnestra" (Od. 3.266). Although she is portrayed as the unfaithful wife, her qualities of beauty and understanding are also outstanding.

She is furthermore similar to Pandora in her wickedness and cunning. She is not only a "hateful mother" (Od. 3.310) but also an "accursed wife" (Od. 11.410). For her assistance in the plot for the dual murder she is called the "guileful Clytemnestra" (Od. 11.422), "the shameless one" (Od. 11.424), having "devised a monstrous thing, contriving death for her wedded husband" (Od. 11.433-4). Besides her role in the creation of the plot, she is a "murderess" (Od. 11.424), "an evil woman" (Od. 11.384) and a woman "with her heart set on utter wickedness" (Od. 11.433).

The "constant Penelope" (Od. 13.406; 16.130; 24.198), wife of Odysseus of Ithaca and daughter of Icarius, is the stereotype of the faithful wife in Homer. Despite his absence of twenty years, Penelope remains "loyally mindful of Odysseus, her wedded husband" (Od. 24.195-6). She is both "full of all excellence" (Od. 24.193) and "good of understanding" (Od. 24.194); and Homer describes her as "peerless Penelope" (Od. 24.194), wiser even than the "women of old" (Od. 2.118).

During this twenty year interval, Penelope is pursued by many suitors. She is disgusted with their insolence and propriety but consents to choose one as her husband as soon as she completes the weaving of a shroud for the father of Odysseus, Laertes. She goes to work on the shroud but cleverly unravels during the night what she had woven during the day. After tricking the suitors for three years, she is finally discovered, only to agree to marry the man who can most easily string the bow of Odysseus and shoot an arrow through twelve axes. In the meanwhile, Odysseus has returned to Ithaca, enters the contest, stringing his old bow and striking the handles of all of the axes. Penelope only receives him as her former husband when he gives certain details about their bridal chamber.

Penelope is described as a very beautiful woman and her excellence is "both of beauty and of form" (Od. 19.124). Athena "made fair her beautiful face with balm ambrosial" (Od. 18.192-3) so that the Achaeans would admire her. Homer also describes her as a "fair lady" (Od. 1.332; 16.414; 18.208). Thus, Penelope was also an example of womanly beauty which could have influenced Hesiod's description of Pandora.

The wife of Odysseus also has a "shining veil" (Od. 1.334; 18.210) which she covers her face with when she stands before her wooers. Hesiod used this detail too. When Pandora is being assembled by the gods, Athena places on her head "a brodered veil, a wonder to see" (Th. 574-5).

Athena is very fond of Penelope and endows "her above other women with knowledge of fair handiwork and an under-

standing heart, and wiles" (Od. 2.117). This knowledge of handiwork enables her to weave the shroud for Laertes and consequently put off the suitors. Pandora, too, learns womanly crafts; for Zeus orders "Athene to teach her needle-work and the weaving of the varied web" (Op. 64).

Because Athena gives Penelope wiles, she is very cunning. This cunning enables her to trick the wooers and put them to various tests. Homer often calls her "wise Penelope" (Od. 1.329; 4.808, 830; 11.446; 16.409, 435; 19.53, 59, 89, 103, 123, 308, 349, 375, 508, 559, 588) and her unravelling of her weaving is called a "shrewd device" (Od. 2.121). Pandora is also given wiles by the gods. Zeus ordered "golden Aphrodite to shed grace upon her head and cruel longing and cares that weary the limbs. And he charged Hermes the guide, the slayer of Argus, to put in her a shameless mind and a deceitful nature" (Op. 65-8). Hesiod calls her "a plague" (Op. 82), "the sheer, hopeless snare" (Op. 83) and a "sheer guile, not to be withstood by men" (Th. 589).

The "laughter-loving Aphrodite" (Il. 3.424; 4.10; 14.211; 20.40; Od. 8.362), daughter of Zeus and Dione, is the goddess of love and beauty. Zeus reminds her of her limitations when he says, "Not unto thee, my child, are given works of war; nay, follow thou after the lovely works of marriage" (Il. 5.428-9). She is the wife of the lame God Hephaestus but falls in love with "Ares of the golden rein" (Od. 8.285). Her name is used as a synonym for love (Od. 22.444) and she is called both Cypris (Il. 5.330, 422, 458,

760, 883) and Cytherea (Od. 8.288; 18.193).

Aphrodite's special favorite is the Trojan Paris. This is because it was Paris who gave Aphrodite the golden apple of Eris, judging her to be the most beautiful woman. In return for this honor Aphrodite promises Paris a wife of surpassing beauty. This woman that Paris is promised is Helen of Sparta, wife of King Menelaus. After a visit to Sparta, Paris brings Helen to Troy as his wife. Helen willingly goes with him, being greatly influenced by the persuasion of Aphrodite.

Aphrodite also helps Paris in battle. When Paris and Menelaus decide to fight in single-combat, Paris surely would have been killed if Aphrodite had not intervened. She picked him up off the battlefield, "full easily as a goddess may, and shrouded him in a thick mist, and set him down in his fragrant, vaulted chamber, and herself went to summon Helen" (Il. 3.380-3). When she tells Helen that Paris wishes to see her, Helen refuses to go but she persuades her "and she went, wrapping herself in her bright shining mantle, in silence; and she was unseen of the Trojan women; and the goddess led the way" (Il. 3.419-20).

When her son, Aeneas, "the king of men" (Il. 5.311), is struck down in battle by Diomed, she helps him escape the battlefield. She spreads around him "a fold of her bright garment to be a shelter against missiles, lest any of the Danaans with swift horses might hurl a spear of bronze into his breast and take away his life" (Il. 5.315-7). However, she is struck down herself and therefore, Apollo brings

Aeneas to safety and she returns to Olympus in the chariot of Ares.

Aphrodite also assists Ares in battle. The warrior is struck in the neck by a stone flung by Athena and the blow "loosed his limbs" (Il. 21.406). Athena taunts him until Aphrodite helps him away "as he uttered many a moan, and hardly could he gather back to him his spirit" (Il. 21.416-7). Athena, however, slaps Aphrodite and both the god and the goddess fall to the ground.

After the death of Hector, Aphrodite protects his body. She anoints his corpse and keeps the dogs away from it. Achilles threatens to feed his body to the dogs but "the daughter of Zeus, Aphrodite, kept dogs from him by day alike and by night, and with oil anointed she him, rose-sweet, ambrosial, to the end that Achilles might not tear him as he dragged him" (Il. 23.185-7).

Because Aphrodite is the symbol of beauty, Hesiod borrowed several details from her to use in his description of Pandora. But while Pandora is "beautiful" (Th. 585), "sweet" (Op. 63), "lovely" (Op. 63) and "like to the immortal goddesses in face" (Op. 62), Aphrodite, of course, is much more. In the judgment of Paris she is the most beautiful of all women. Homer describes her as "beautiful Aphrodite" (Il. 3.413; Od. 20.68, 73) several times but she also has many of the characteristics which were considered as beautiful during Homeric times. For example, she has "white arms" (Il. 5.314), a "beauteous neck," a "lovely bosom" and "flashing eyes" (Il. 3.396-7). Homer very often calls her "golden Aphrodite"

(Il. 9.389; 19.282; 22.470; 24.699; Od. 4.14; 8.337; 17.37; 19.54), perhaps refering to her blonde hair, a significant Homeric symbol of beauty.

Aphrodite is described as beautiful in other ways, too. There is no possible way that she can hide her beauty because it is so outstanding. When she appears to Helen in the disguise of "an ancient dame, a wool-comber" (Il. 3.386), her features are so distinguishably beautiful that Helen recognizes her very quickly. Achilles will not marry the daughter of Agamemnon "not though she vied in beauty with golden Aphrodite" (Il. 9.389). Briseïs, with her tender neck and beautiful face, "was like unto golden Aphrodite" (Il. 19.282). Also, the beautiful Cassandra is the "peer of golden Aphrodite" (Il. 24.699) and "wise Penelope" is "like unto Artemis or golden Aphrodite" (Od. 17.36-7). Even Helen's "lovely child, Hermione" had "the beauty of golden Aphrodite" (Od. 4.13-4). Part of Aphrodite's appeal is the result of her zone of love and beauty, which Hera asks to borrow to use on Zeus. Aphrodite agreed and "loosed from her bosom the broidered zone, curiously-wrought, wherein are fashioned all manner of allurements; therein is love, therein desire, therein dalliance - beguilement that steals the wits even of the wise" (Il. 14.214-7).

This zone, then, is also a source of deception. Like Pandora, Aphrodite is cunning and the cause of tricks. Originally, she is the one who bribes Paris to present her with the golden apple. Thus she is really the primary cause of the Trojan War and is described as "her who furthered his

fatal lustfulness" (Il. 24.30), as she is the one who put desire into both Paris and Helen. She is also very persuasive with Helen, who, against her will not only goes to Troy with Paris but to Paris' chamber on the day of the single-combat between him and Menelaus. In battle she is clever enough to rescue Paris, Aeneas and Ares and she protects the body of Hector from the determination of Achilles. Hera calls her a "dog-fly" (Il. 21.421) and she is referred to as a "shameless girl" (Od. 8.319) by Hephaestus for her unfaithfulness to him.

Because connivance is one of Aphrodite's main attributes, Hesiod describes Pandora as conniving too. Significantly, it is Aphrodite who gives Pandora gifts not only of beauty but also of evil. The goddess is ordered by Zeus "to shed grace upon her head and cruel longing and cares that weary the limbs" (Op. 65-6). In addition, Hermes "contrived within her lies and crafty words and a deceitful nature" (Op. 77-8).

Both Aphrodite and Pandora have veils. Aphrodite gives hers to Andromache on the day of her marriage to Hector. Athena not only dresses Pandora but "down from her head she spread with her hands a brodered veil, a wonder to see" (Th. 574-5).

The Graces are the attendants of Aphrodite and they "bathed her and anointed her with immortal oil, such as gleams upon the gods that are forever. And they clothed her in lovely raiment, a wonder to behold" (Od. 8.364-6). Athena is the goddess who attends Pandora, also dressing her

in fine clothes. In the Works and Days the "divine Graces and queenly Persuasion put necklaces of gold upon her" (Op. 73-4). Therefore, in the Pandora myth Athena performs the Graces' task in general, while the Graces are shown in the modified position of adorning Pandora only with golden necklaces.

"Argive Helen" (Il. 2.160, 177, 458; 4.19, 174; 6.323, 350; 9.140, 282; Od. 4.184, 296; 17.118; 23.218), wife of Menelaus and "high-born" (Il. 6.292; Od. 22.227) daughter of Zeus, is a primary cause of the Trojan War. No one ever reproaches her, however, and the people around her tend to blame the immortals for all of her wicked actions. For example, Priam confesses to her, "thou art nowise to blame in my eyes; it is the gods, methinks, that are to blame, who roused against me the tearful war of the Achaeans" (Il. 3. 164-5). Even Helen maintains that she had no control over her actions when she says "I groaned for the blindness that Aphrodite gave me, when she led me thither from my dear native land, forsaking my child and my bridal chamber, and my husband, a man who lacked nothing, whether in wisdom or in comeliness" (Od. 4.261-4), and when she claims that the blame for the Trojan War should not be placed on either her or Paris, "on whom Zeus hath brought an evil doom, that even in days to come we may be a song for men that are yet to be" (Il. 6.357-8).

Helen, of course, is a woman of great beauty and enticement and Hesiod must have been significantly influenced by Homer's description of her loveliness. Helen is a "fair-

cheeked" (Od. 15.123), "beautiful lady" (Od. 15.106). Assuredly, she is both "white-armed" (Il. 3.121; Od. 22.227) and "fair-haired" (Il. 3.329; 6.355; 8.82; 9.339; 11.369, 505; 13.766; Od. 15.58). Because Helen is wondrously like "the immortal goddesses to look upon" (Il. 3.158), Hesiod describes Pandora as "like to the immortal goddesses in face" (Op. 62). She is "Helen, fair among women" (Il. 3.171, 228) and the vanquished Trojan women are "fairest after Argive Helen" (Il. 9.140, 282).

Helen, like Hesiod's Pandora, is not only beautiful in face and form but also has beautiful clothing. Several times Homer calls her "long-robed Helen" (Il. 3.228; Od. 4.305; 15.171) and she has many chests of "richly-broidered robes" (Od. 15.105). Before she sets out for Paris' chamber she wraps herself "in her bright shining mantle" (Il. 3.419), similar to Pandora's "silvery raiment" (Th. 574).

Helen is skilled in both needlework and weaving. In Troy, while Paris was busy with his weapons, Helen "sat amid her serving-women and appointed to them their glorious handiwork" (Il. 6.323-4). When Telemachus and Menelaus are talking one evening, Helen comes from her room with her spinning and joins them in conversation. Her attendant Adraste brings her a chair, Alcippe brings a "rug of soft wool" and her handmaid Phylo brings in a silver basket, "filled with finely-spun yarn, and across it was laid the distaff laden with violet-dark wool" (Od. 4.120-35). When she goes to the treasure-chamber, she approaches the chests of clothing "in which were the richly-broidered robes, that she herself had

wrought" (Od. 15.105). When Telemachus gets ready to leave Menelaus' palace in Sparta, she gives him a robe, "a remembrance of the hands of Helen, against the day of thy longed-for marriage, for thy bride to wear it" (Od. 15.125-7). Consequently, Pandora is taught "needlework and the weaving of the varied web" (Op. 63-4) by Athena.

Helen is also very clever and has been the cause of much destruction. She is quick-witted in interpreting the omen seen on the departure of Telemachus, for while Menelaus was still considering it, she "took the word from him" (Od. 15.171) and interpreted it herself. As the cause of the Trojan War she is a destructive force, bringing about the death of many men. In realizing herself as the one "for whose sake many an Achaean hath perished in Troy, far from his dear native land" (Il. 2.177-8), she calls herself "shameless me" (Od. 3.180) and admits to Hector,

'O Brother of me that am a dog, a contriver
of mischief and abhorred of all, I would that
on the day when first my mother gave me birth
an evil storm-wind had borne me away to some
mountain or to the wave of the loud-resounding
sea, where the wave might have swept me away
or ever these things came to pass' (Il. 6.344-8).

When mourning for the dead Patroclus, Achilles calls her "abhorred Helen" (Il. 19.325) and the elders at the Scaean gates suggest that she be handed over to the Trojans so she would not remain as "a bane to us and to our children" (Il. 3.160). Just as Helen is a bane to the Trojans and to those who fight for her, likewise Pandora is a curse to those who have to work for their living, "a plague to men who eat bread"

(Od. 82).

Hera, the "ox-eyed" (Il. 1.551, 568; 4.50; 14.150, 222; 16.439; 18.239, 357, 360; 20.309) and "golden-throned" (Il. 1.611; 14.153) goddess, daughter of Cronos and Rhea, is both the sister and wife of Zeus. Both she and Athena hate the Trojans "by reason of the sin of Alexander" (Il. 24.28) in presenting the golden apple to Aphrodite. Hera has three cities which are dearest to her, "Argos and Sparta and broad-wayed Mycenae" (Il. 4.52).

Like all of Homer's women Hera is beautiful. She has a "lovely body" (Il. 14.170, 175) and Zeus is attracted to her more than any other woman. She is called "the bright goddess" (ἡ δὲ θεὰ ῥέαν, Il. 14.184), a description connoting great beauty.¹ Very often Homer calls her the "goddess, white-armed Hera" (Il. 1.54, 195, 595; 5.767, 775, 784; 8.381; 20.112; 21.377, 418, 434, 512). Hera is also "fair-haired" (Il. 10.5) and has "bright tresses, fair and ambrosial, that streamed from her immortal head" (Il. 14.176-7). She even gives the daughters of Pandareus the gift of "beauty and wisdom above all women" (Od. 20.70).

She also dresses beautifully, especially when she wants to appear pleasing to Zeus. When she is playing a trick on him and borrows Aphrodite's magical zone, she dresses in her finest clothes. In addition to anointing her body "richly with oil, ambrosial, soft, and of rich fragrance" (Il. 14.171-2), she combs her hair and clothes "her about in a robe ambrosial, which Athene had wrought for her with cunning skill, and had set thereon broideries full many" (Il. 14.

178-9). She also adorns herself with golden brooches, "a girdle set with an hundred tassels" (Il. 14.181) and "ear-rings with three clustering drops" (Il. 14.182-3). For this occasion "beneath her shining feet she bound her fair sandals" (Il. 14.186), while she is usually described as wearing "golden sandals" (Od. 11.604). And finally "with a veil over all did the bright goddess veil herself, a fair veil, all glistening, and white was it as the sun" (Il. 14.184-5). This veil must have been the precedent for Pandora's "broidered veil, a wonder to see" (Th. 575).

Also like all of Homer's other women, Hera is very crafty. She sends Athena to the battlefield twice, the first time to rescue Achilles from Agamemnon (Il. 1.195) and the second to convince the Achaeans not to return home before they had won the war (Il. 2.156). They both enter the battlefield once (Il. 5.711 ff.) but are stopped the second time by Zeus (Il. 8.350 ff.). In her hatred of the Trojans "Hera spread before them a thick mist to hinder them" (Il. 21.6), as they were trying to escape. Iris summons Achilles to assist Patroclus in battle, "for Hera sent her forth" (Il. 18.168). Hera also saves Achilles from Scamander by summoning her son Hephaestus to make a fire "lest the great deep-eddying River should sweep him away" (Il. 21.329). Not only does she cause the "unwearing sun" (Il. 18.239) to set in order to save the Achaeans but she also gives speech to the horse of Achilles (Il. 19.407).

She is even guileful to her husband Zeus. She tricks him into not watching the action on the battlefield by making

herself attractive so that he would want to make love to her (Il. 14.153 ff.). Zeus is aware of the nature of his wife and asks Thetis, who wants him to honor Achilles, to, "for this present depart again, lest Hera mark aught" (Il. 1.522-3). He admits to Iris that Hera "is ever wont to thwart him in whatsoe'er he hath decreed" (Il. 8.422) and that she has an "unbearable, unyielding spirit" (Il. 5.892). It is no wonder that Hesiod believed women to be completely destructive after reading Homer's description of Hera.

Although Hesiod and Homer had different attitudes towards women, Hesiod's portrait of Pandora owes a great deal to the women found in Homer. Hesiod used the details describing Homer's women with slight modifications; while he used the details that he thought pertinent to Pandora, he omitted others. All of Homer's women are both beautiful and evil, thus culminating in the Pandoric epithet, Kalon Kakon.

CHAPTER 4

THE PLACEMENT AND INTENT OF THE PANDORA MYTH IN THE THEOGONY AND THE WORKS AND DAYS

The Theogony, Hesiod's genealogy of the gods, is generally agreed, although critics continue to dispute each other's theories concerning interpolations, to be composed of 1022 lines. The Pandora myth, therefore, being related in lines 507-616, roughly maintains a central position in the work. This central location of the myth was no accident on the part of Hesiod, who had a specific point in mind when inserting Pandora into the middle of his narrative about the gods. This point is best explained by Trencsényi-Waldapfel, who writes that "In the Theogony, a completely rounded world-picture is given in a genealogical form, and within this world-picture a woman serves as the divine tool to punish man in order to emphasize the opposing interests of the gods and of men, of men and of women."¹ Pandora, then, is right in the center of divine and mortal conflict, the object of a kind of tug-of-war game, first pulled one way by the gods and next pulled another by the wishes of men.

In the Works and Days, on the other hand, the Pandora myth is revealed in the beginning of Hesiod's work, being contained in lines 42-105 out of the total 828 lines. Here Pandora is at the beginning in order to point out her im-

portance in the subsequent events which take place in this narrative, which is basically about men and their daily concerns. She is in a primary position because she "is the starting-point towards the answer: how is it that men have to toil with painful drudgery to provide their daily food."² By releasing the evils which scatter over the land and sea, she affects everything else that follows.

In both works, therefore, Hesiod places the blame for the evil in the world on Pandora, who is a seemingly innocent victim of the wrath of Zeus. But Hesiod does this for two reasons: first, because he is an antifeminist at heart; second, because his regard for Zeus is too exalted to place the blame for evil on the omnipotent ruler of gods and men.

That Hesiod was prejudiced against women is fairly obvious; perhaps this was due to the society and times in which he lived or perhaps he personally had some bad experience with a woman but nevertheless he clearly shows himself to be "no lover of women."³ T. A. Sinclair claims that he uses the Pandora myth, "which he seems glad to narrate in full perhaps because it suits his anti-feminist ideas,"⁴ while in the same vein, Wilamowitz "suggests that Hesiod found the 'antifeminist' tendency in an earlier poem dealing with Prometheus and Epimetheus and retained it because it accorded with his own feeling."⁵ Eduard Schwartz maintains that Hesiod did not go back to an earlier myth which placed the blame for evil on Pandora but that "the harsh judgment passed on woman and her part in man's life is Hesiod's

own."⁶ At any rate, Hesiod has created Pandora as the representative and embodiment of evil - the Kalon Kakon.

The second reason for Hesiod's placement of the blame on Pandora is his deep respect for Zeus as the supreme being in the hierarchy of the gods. Zeus always wins according to Hesiod, for he is a god who is impossible to trick. For example, even during the division of sacrifices at Mecone when he appeared to be a fool, his mind was so far ahead that he not only perceived the trick but had already begun the punishment for it. And Cottus reinforces the intelligence of Zeus when he says, "nay, even of ourselves we know that your wisdom and understanding is exceeding" (Th. 656).

Hesiod, then, by placing the blame on Pandora, attempts to vindicate the justice of Zeus. Pandora is actually Zeus' instrument and he uses her to bring evil to mankind. But it is really Zeus who has not only created the evils but has also ordered the making of the beautiful maiden. Without this maiden evils would have never been scattered around the world but without Zeus the maiden would have never existed. Therefore, the myth is used by Hesiod as a means of absolving Zeus of responsibility for the presence of physical evil in the world.

Zeus, the clever, all-powerful and intelligent god prevails in the myth over Prometheus, the representative of willful, arrogant man and Pandora is the scapegoat by which the punishment reaches man. Consequently, the Pandora myth is important to Hesiod because it not only embodies his love (Zeus) but also his hate (women). It is therefore symbolic

of Hesiod's conception of the world as a basic disharmony between gods and men, a theme which he pursues in his genealogy of the gods, the Theogony. In the Theogony the Pandora myth appears in the central position of the entire narrative, a highly significant move on the author's part, as this myth is not only central to the Theogony but of central importance for an understanding of Hesiod, the man and the writer, and his thought.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1

¹The basis of my recapitulation of the Pandora myth as related in the Theogony and the Works and Days is, and all further references to these works are from Hugh G. Evelyn-White, ed., tr., Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric (Cambridge [Mass.] 1954).

²The name Pandora is composed of two Greek words: pan (neuter nominative singular of the adjective pas), meaning "all" and dōra (neuter nominative plural of the noun dōron), meaning "gifts."

³William Mure, A Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece, 2nd ed., II (London 1854) 421.

⁴Friedrich Solmsen, Hesiod and Aeschylus (Ithaca 1949) 79 n.

⁵Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora's Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol, 2nd ed. (New York 1956) 4.

⁶F. A. Paley, ed., The Epics of Hesiod (London 1861) 207.

⁷I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, "The Pandora Myth," Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae IV (1955) 104.

⁸A. Rzach, "Hesiodos," PW VIII (Stuttgart 1913) 1181.

⁹Ioannes Flach, ed., Hesiodi Carmina, 3rd ed. (Lipsiae 1878) 62.

¹⁰Solmsen (above, note 4) 76.

¹¹Albert Augustus Trever, "The Age of Hesiod: A Study in Economic History," CP 19 (1924) 167.

¹² Henry Theodore Wade-Gery, "Hesiod," Essays in Greek History (Oxford 1958) 9.

¹³ Hesiod relates that he is from Ascra in Boeotia in lines 633-40 of the Works and Days, when he describes his father's journey from Aeolian Cyme.

¹⁴ Evelyn-White (above, note 1) XV.

¹⁵ Thomas W. Allen, Homer: The Origins and the Transmission (Oxford 1924) 78.

¹⁶ Cecil Maurice Bowra, Tradition and Design in the Iliad (Oxford 1930) 262.

¹⁷ Cecil Maurice Bowra, Ancient Greek Literature (London 1933) 43.

¹⁸ Trever (above, note 11) 167.

¹⁹ Trencsényi-Waldapfel (above, note 7) 111.

²⁰ Rzach (above, note 8) 1178.

²¹ Mure (above, note 3) 421.

²² Mure (above, note 3) 422.

²³ Solmsen (above, note 4) 4-5 n.

²⁴ N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, eds., Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1970) 511.

²⁵ Wade-Gery (above, note 12) 5.

²⁶ Solmsen (above, note 4) 79 n.

²⁷ Flach (above, note 9) 62.

²⁸ Trencsényi-Waldapfel (above, note 7) 104.

²⁹ This suggestion, of course, relies on the proof that

Hesiod composed the Theogony before the Works and Days. This has been the subject of argument for centuries and I do not consider it germane to my thesis to discuss it here. Although both C. M. Bowra, Tradition and Design in the Iliad and Evelyn-White, ed., tr., Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and the Homericica make excellent points, I maintain, along with the majority of critics, that Hesiod wrote the Theogony prior to the Works and Days.

³⁰ Solmsen (above, note 4) 82.

³¹ Solmsen (above, note 4) 5.

CHAPTER 2

- ¹I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, "The Pandora Myth," Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae IV (1955) 108.
- ²F. A. Paley, ed., The Epics of Hesiod (London 1961) 12.
- ³Walter Headlam, "Prometheus and the Garden of Eden," CQ 28 (1934) 66.
- ⁴M. L. West, ed., Hesiod: Theogony (Oxford 1966) 306-7.
- ⁵E. A. Havelock, Prometheus (Seattle 1968) 92.
- ⁶Ioannes Flach, ed., Hesiodi Carmina, 3rd ed. (Lipsiae 1878) 62.
- ⁷James Davies, Hesiod and Theognis (Philadelphia) 25.
- ⁸Jane E. Harrison, "Pandora's Box," JHS 20 (1900) 99.
- ⁹Harrison (above, note 8) 99-100.
- ¹⁰Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora's Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol, 2nd ed. (New York 1956) 7-8.
- ¹¹Trencsényi-Waldapfel (above, note 1) 108.
- ¹²Panofsky and Panofsky (above, note 10) 8.
- ¹³Davies (above, note 7) 27-8.
- ¹⁴Hugh G. Evelyn-White, ed., tr., Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric (Cambridge [Mass.] 1954) 9.

¹⁵T. A. Sinclair, ed., Hesiod: Works and Days (London 1932) 14.

¹⁶Panofsky and Panofsky (above, note 10) 7.

¹⁷Werner Jaeger, "Hesiod: The Peasant's Life," Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture, vol. 1 (Oxford 1939) 59.

¹⁸Friedrich Solmsen, Hesiod and Aeschylus (Ithaca 1949) 48.

¹⁹Solmsen (above, note 18) 48-9.

²⁰Norman O. Brown, ed., tr., Theogony (Indianapolis 1953) 21.

²¹Trencsenyi-Waldapfel (above, note 1) 100.

CHAPTER 3

¹W. B. Stanford, ed., The Odyssey of Homer, vol. 1 (London 1947) 209. Stanford claims that "δῖα has many shades of meaning, 'divine, famous, glorious, noble, bright, beautiful'; no single English word adequately expresses them all; 'glorious' is probably nearest. It is a characteristic word for the Greek heroic ideal of combined beauty, power and fame."

CHAPTER 4

¹I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, "The Pandora Myth," Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae IV (1955) 104.

²Trencsényi-Waldapfel (above, note 1) 104.

³N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, eds., Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1970) 511.

⁴T. A. Sinclair, ed., Hesiod: Works and Days (London 1932) 8.

⁵Friedrich Solmsen, Hesiod and Aeschylus (Ithaca 1949) 48 n.

⁶Solmsen (above, note 5) 48.

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